NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 10, NO. 16 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 3, 1958

Dulles held seeking Mideast atom bases to hold oil empire

By Kumar Goshal

ON JAN. 26 Secy. of State John Foster Dulles arrived in Ankara by way of Morocco and Iran to try, as the N.Y. **Times** said, "to invigorate the Baghdad Pact by his presence." He carried the same marked deck of cards he took to the NATO and other conferences, despite the demand for a new deal by the Moroccans and the Middle Eastern allies. While he slept at the home of the U.S. Ambassador, bombs thrown by terrorists damaged the American Embassy and a bookstore selling American books.

Before Dulles left the U.S., Moscow accused him and British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd of going on a mission to set up nuclear and rocket bases in pact member countries and to find ways to protect oil investments.

Moscow pointed out that the military cost of membership in the Baghdad Pact has bankrupted the Middle Eastern nations without any compensatory Western economic aid for "the construction of new establishments required by their national economy, new orchards, or water for their sun-parched land." Noting that pact members "are meeting at a time when the ideas of peaceful coexistence are increasingly gripping the minds of people," the Soviet statement said: "The Middle East should become a zone free of nuclear and rocket weapons . . ."

NO ENTHUSIASM: Washington called the Soviet accusations on Dulles' mission "false." It was known, however, that the Moroccans had asked Dulles what the U.S. position would be if they appealed to the UN against Spain's failure to restore to Morocco the portion it still holds. They also wanted to know the U.S. position regarding Algerian independence which they supported, and the plea for economic aid the Moroccan ruler made during his recent U.S. tour. Dulles' replies to these questions remained undisclosed.

His response to an Iranian request for increased economic and military aid also remained undisclosed. However, the **Times** reported that, on his departure, Dulles "praised the frosty, clear weather here and the snow-covered mountains" that ring Teheran but "left behind some disappointment" about U.S. aid.

On his arrival in Ankara, Dulles not only faced the demand for greater economic aid from Middle Eastern pact members but growing distaste for the pact itself. The Iraqi cabinet was showing so little enthusiasm for the pact that Turkish Premier Menderes made a hasty trip to Baghdad on Jan. 24 in a vain attempt to halt the neutralist trend growing in the only Arab member of the pact.

TOKEN CASH: The economic committee

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MORNING AFTER THE LONG NIGHTMARE—VIVA VENEZUELA LIBRE!
As the dictator fled, Caracas looked like Paris on the original Bastille Day (See p. 5)

THE OPPOSITION WAS DIVIDED

UAW drops 30-hour week for Reuther's profit-sharing

By George Breitman
Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

HOPES THAT THE United Auto Workers this year would spearhead the fight for American labor's next big economic and social advance—the shorter work week—were dashed when the UAW convened here Jan. 22-24. The delegates accepted Walter Reuther's proposal that the union scrap the shorter week demand decided on last April and negotiate instead for a profit-sharing plan. But not before a spirited six-hour debate revealed deep-going dissatisfaction and doubt about the Reuther program.

In his main convention speech Reuther dropped almost completely his previous argument that Sputnik required the shelving of the shorter week demand; he knew how much ridicule this had received from the workers in the shops. Now he concentrated on the argument that 1958 was going to be a tough year for labor and therefore the UAW should put itself in the best "tactical position" by making no economic demands that could not be defended before "public opinion" as non-inflationary.

'WRONG CLIMATE': Delegates supporting his plan took the conservative tack in the debate: This is the "wrong climate" for the shorter week demand; workers aren't earning enough now with a 40-hour week; first we've got to defeat our political enemies in Washington and Ottawa. But very little was said about the profit-sharing plan itself even by these delegates.

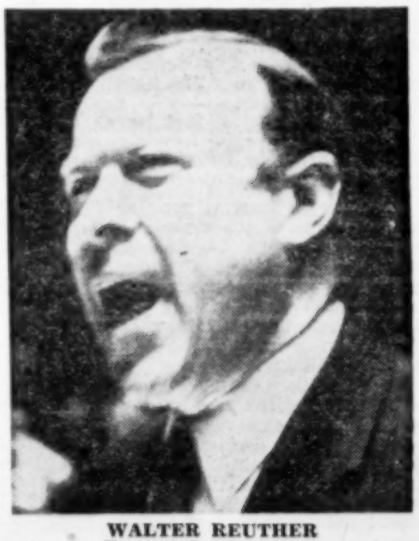
Opponents, who tended to come from the larger locals and the biggest corporations, were not all against the profit-sharing plan (some of them tried to ignore it), but they all wanted the shorter week restored as the number one demand for 1958.

"The unemployed and those soon to be unemployed cannot turn to GM, Ford, and Chrysler, or Washington, or President Eisenhower," said Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600. "They can turn only to the union. Unless we do something more constructive [than profit-sharing] we will be turning our backs on the unemployed." He urged, unsuccessfully, that the issue be submitted to a membership referendum.

JOBLESS FORGOTTEN: The profit-sharing plan "offers nothing to the jobless worker," said a printed statement by a majority of the Dodge Local 3 delegation. "For the worker who is still employed, it is a dressed-up incentive plan which can set Chrysler workers competing with Ford workers and with GM workers."

Ernest Mazey of Local 212 warned that Reuther, who is so concerned with public opinion, had better begin by considering the opinion of a large section of

(Continued on Page 8)



WALTER REUTHER
Few spoke for peace

THE BOOM IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER

Ike's economic report shuns realities for false optimism

By Victor Perlo

THE MANAGER of the Passaic unemployment insurance office said: "It carries me back to 1933. We had lines like that then—and people with problems like that." A worker on the line: "They say things will be better in the spring. But what do we do until spring?"

His question challenges a government committed to promoting economic stability. The annual Economic Report of the President, issued in mid-January, should provide answers. Instead it boasts of the glories of capitalist economy, assures that rapid growth will be resumed soon, and shakes a warning finger at labor. Its tone resembles Herbert Hoover's "just-around-the-corner" pep talks of 1930. The bankruptcy of policy it reveals is equally reminiscent.

THE SITUATION: Industrial production has fallen 7½% from the peak. Layoffs increase daily. Unemployment, already exceeding 4,000,000, may establish a post-war high this winter. Manufacturing corporations plan to cut capital spending by one-sixth this year. Exports are off $2,000,000,000 annually. In some respects, the declines are similar to the early stages of the 1949 and 1954 recessions. But there are major differences:

- The capital investment boom was vital to the recovery from 1954 and in part from 1949. Now enormous overcapacity stands in the way. In nine years steel output rose 25,000,000 tons, capacity 45,000,000. In 1954 the greatest of

(Continued on Page 10)

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Letter to Ezra

ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y.

This is the gist of a letter we have sent to Secy. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson:

According to the Federal Census Bureau, farmers supporting nearly 2,000,000 persons were forced out of business from mid-1956 to mid-1957. This was caused by the middlemen—the firms which purchase the farmers' products and resell them directly or indirectly to the consumer public—whom you have allowed to become dictators in setting prices paid to farmers. You and your administration have allowed these middlemen to practice monopoly. The consumer suffers as well as the farmer.

Therefore, we ask that you abandon your outspoken plan to eliminate the small farmer and, instead, right the wrong you have done to the small farmer and the consumer. Your objectives should be to (1) place a ceiling on retail food prices and (2) regulate the profit margins of monopolistic middlemen. Then the consumer public will have greater purchasing power and the surpluses you claim are unmarketable will be reduced.

If the millions of small farmers are forced out of business, they will compete with industrial workers for jobs that are now scarce.

—The Executive Board
Ulster County Local,
N.Y. State Farmers' Union,
Angelo DeLewis, president

More we can't ask

MORA, MINN.

We would very much like to do more for the GUARDIAN, but that is impossible as we are among those small farmers that Ezra Benson is going to force off the farm. But it would be hard for us to get along without the GUARDIAN. It is the only newspaper that tells the truth.

Math Thelen

Rocks of Gibraltar

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Sunday evening, Jan. 19, Prudential Life's Twentieth Century program "covered" the war in Spain. Damn near smothered it, I'd say. Emmet Hughes, speech-writer for Ike in '52 and '56, did the script. His future is secure. He'll always get work as a baloney-stuffer. It took an expert to explain why the U.S. refused to help arm the democratically-elected Republic of Spain in 1936 but is willing to help arm the fascist totalitarian dictatorship of Spain in 1958.

To appreciate this epic, it helps to have rocks in the head, Rocks of Gibraltar.

Nita Narr

Southern Abolitionists

LEXINGTON, KY.

I read with interest your reprint of Don West's sermon of indignation against blaming the Hillbillies, Plowboys, Crackers, Rednecks — the "poor white trash"—of the South for the sins of their bosses. I have always been proud to consider myself a hillbilly.

If all Southerners are branded with the mark of Cain because of the enslavement, humiliation and degradation of the Negroes, the hill people of the Southern Appalachians deserve this brand least of all. Most inhabitants of that region, when the Civil War began, had never seen a Negro, much less held them in bondage.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22—(NYT)—A memorandum being prepared by Senator Lyndon Johnson (D-Texas), on his Subcommittee's inquiry into America's missile strength, includes this hopeful thought:

The present position of the United States is far from "hopeless" and could not be hopeless "as long as we retain the capacity to destroy the Soviet Union even if we couldn't do it as efficiently as the Soviet Union could destroy us."

—San Francisco
Chronicle, 1/23

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Priscilla Esterman, San Francisco.

Are Northern liberals unaware of all the militant Abolitionists in the South? Do they not know that two routes of the Underground Railway stretched from the heart of the South up through the valleys of the Appalachians, with stations a day's ride apart—manned by Southerners?

It was easy to be an Abolitionist in Boston, New York or Chicago. But the Southern Abolitionist laid his life—and that of his family and friends—on the line, and often paid the penalty. Southern Abolitionists — and Southern radicals down to this day—learned to take on a protective coloration, that they might survive to carry on their work. In the South an exhibitionist Abolitionist —or radical—did not manage to carry on his work long.

The Eastern mountainous section of Kentucky and Tennessee furnished more soldiers for the Union army in the Civil War than did Ohio, Indiana and Illinois combined. It is very doubtful if the North would have won if the people of the Southern Appalachians had not been militantly loyal to the Union and opposed to slavery.

Was not Abraham Lincoln himself born a Kentucky hillbilly? And was not his Vice-President Andrew Johnson a Tennessee hillbilly? And U. S. Grant went to school in Maysville, Ky., and spent his early youth around that town. The Civil War was just that in the South.

Those who fought to preserve the Union and to abolish slavery were eventually betrayed by their Northern comrades, as has happened again and again in the South since, when the going became rugged. We of the South will hold on until the Northern radical learns to respect and support wholeheartedly his Southern comrade.

Hillbilly

First inning 4-bagger

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

We had a birthday gathering at a friend's house. There were six couples — liberal-minded, broad-minded people. So after reading your Appeal to step on the gas and recruit 10,000 new readers, I went to work.

I took a copy of the GUARDIAN with me and, Presto! I got four new subscriptions. No trouble, no coaxing. Am sure there will be more coming.

Good luck. Send me my first "Marc" book.

S. Dubow

Candidate

SEATTLE, WASH.

Jack Wright is running for Seattle City Council on a socialist program and is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and by Molders Union Local 158.

Wright is emphasizing the great need for democracy in American life—industrial democracy, democracy in government and democracy in the labor movement.

He is calling for democratic social ownership and control of industry, complete equality for Negroes and other minorities, decision by the people on the fundamental questions of war and peace and nuclear testing; civil liberties for all, and the freedom of unionists to choose their own leadership and program without intimidation by McClellans from without or from Becks within.

In the absence of an independent labor slate supported by the union movement, class conscious militants can register their opposition to the capitalist political machines by supporting Wright in this election.

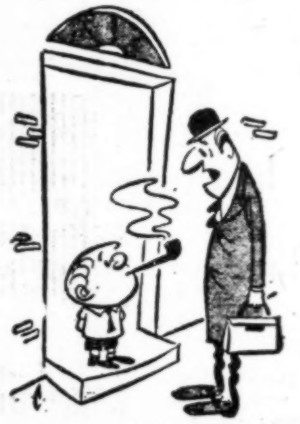
H. Baker (Mrs.)
Campaign Manager,
Wright for City Council,
655 Main St.

Goshal and all

COTATI, CALIF.

Catching up with the last three issues of the GUARDIAN I simply have to express my appreciation of Kumar Goshal's contributions. He is really on the ball. More power to all of you!

S. G. Bloomfield



London Daily Mirror

"Your father's out, I take it?"

Re John Gates

MIAMI, FLA.

I admired John Gates in the way he answered all questions put to him by Mike Wallace during his interview Jan. 18. Good luck to him!

Name withheld

•

WALNUT COVE, N. C.

John Gates is correct when he says that the **Daily Worker** did not die a natural death, but was murdered. He and his followers are the culprits. Under the guise of the "right to dissent," he succeeded in doing what the McCarthys, Eastlands, et al, could never have done.

Name withheld

Raphael Eskenazi

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

May I express my thanks to all those acquaintances and friends who, through cards, letters, telegrams, have shown sympathy to my bereavement on the loss of my husband, Raphael, on Dec. 2.

To those who remembered him through gifts to cancer research and other good works my deep gratitude, but for those who believed as my husband did in the free press by helping the GUARDIAN a little more than usual, my most sincere thanks. Enclosed is $200 in memory of our daughter, Valentine, who was present at the first meeting when the GUARDIAN was founded.

Mina Eskenazi

Jacob Jaffe

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Jacob Jaffe, who was a reader and supporter of the GUARDIAN, died in his sleep Dec. 30. A number of friends attended the funeral Jan. 2. He is survived by his wife, Rose.

Sol R. Zorfas

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 10, No. 16 401 February 3, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

Those 10,000 names

WE'D LIKE TO REPORT AS FOLLOWS: "In an unprecedented response to our appeal of Jan. 20, 1958, for 10,000 new readers, the whole GUARDIAN readership each sent us at least one new subscriber by return mail, doubling the paper's circulation and sending our 10,000 new-sub drive triply over the top."

We'd like to report also that world peace has been agreed upon at a big Turkey Dinner of the Heads of States at the Summit; and that the Re-Forestation Bureau is going to plant a Money Tree in every backyard in America—but, lucklessly, none of the foregoing is in accordance with the facts.

We can't do any more than we've been doing to bring about a Summit meeting; and we know that money doesn't grow on trees, yet; but we do know that you, if you will, can make the first paragraph above come true.

THE NEXT CRONY who calls you on the telephone, for example; the next good friend you encounter at the bus stop, at work or at the parents' meeting—mean to tell us you can't find one single soul who could and would take the GUARDIAN for three months? Just TRY it, anyway!

Actually, our Circulation Dept. says that the response to the 10,000 Sub Drive has been good and satisfying, thus far. (Circulation never expects Promotion's dreams to come true, anyway.) A dozen or so "Marc" books are on their way to early gatherers of three new readers, lots of people have sent us one new subscriber and are scratching around for more; and a doctor in Canada sent ten new subscribers, three here in the States, the rest up there.

If everybody would pause right here and think of just one acquaintance who used to take, or should always have taken the GUARDIAN, the sub drive will be sitting pretty immediately. You surely pass the time of day some of these days with at least some of the million who voted for Wallace in '48, the good people who fought for the Rosenbergs' lives in '53, or those who are holding the fort today against witch-hunting and jimcrow. We'd like them back, those who used to be GUARDIAN readers; and we'd like to make friends with those you think would appreciate the GUARDIAN and put its fact-finding to good use. We don't want just "telephone book" names; we want new readers as tried and true as yourself. Almost, anyway.

BECAUSE WE KNOW that it takes a lot of power to move from a standing stop to high gear, we also ask for special help from those who can offer it. We need people of good organizing ability to plug for the GUARDIAN in neighborhoods, on campuses, in the unions, in political action groups.

If you can volunteer for this kind of activity, we request your attention to the special coupon on this page. Or even if you can't, perhaps you'd like a few extra GUARDIANs to show people. Or, if you're going to get a lot of new readers, you may need a sheaf of sub blanks and reply envelopes.

For any of the foregoing reasons, let's hear from you—even if it's only with one, lone new trial subscriber. **—THE GUARDIAN**

Count Me In

On our 1958 campaign for 10,000 new GUARDIAN subscribers

☐ **I will help in my neighborhood (shop, local, political or other organization, on my campus or other area.)**

☐ **Send me a free bundle of 3 GUARDIANS weekly until further notice, to show around.**

☐ **Send me a supply of $1 Introductory sub blanks and business reply envelopes.**

☐ **Reserve a copy of Vito Marcantonio's book "I Vote My Conscience" for me, as offered on p. 3.**

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone .... State..............................

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE STATE OF THE NATION

Needed: A political and moral alternative for America

IF AMERICA WANTED FINAL PROOF of the need for a political and moral alternative to the mess this nation is in, it got it full in the face with the events of last week.

The Republican Party, with a heaving and groaning that offended millions of TV screens (and God knows they are being constantly offended), launched its 1958 political campaign with fund-raising dinners in 47 cities of 27 states. The dinners commemorated the first Inauguration of President Eisenhower and the five fat years were all too visible to the naked eye.

So was the hand of Madison Avenue. In New York, a trim, slim Dickie Nixon, scrubbed and polished free of all sin, was master of ceremonies. The camera flitted from city to city, and then came to rest on the pathetic figure of Dwight Eisenhower in Chicago, pleading for a one-party system for America. "Security," he said, "is not a partisan or political matter. Americans must never and will never let the issue of security become a pawn in anyone's political chess game."

IN MINNEAPOLIS Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams (surely the rugged state of New Hampshire has something better than this to give to the nation) played the other side of the tracks. He knows there must be at least a public pretense of a two-party system. He delivered a campaign speech which rattled all the bones of the dead past. He blamed the Democrats for Pearl Harbor, for "losing our atomic secret" to the Soviet Union, for losing China to the Chinese, and for "politicking with national defense."

There were cries of horror from the Democrats on Capitol Hill. The Washington **Post**, noting that Mr. Eisenhower was "trilling like a lark while Mr. Adams simultaneously sweeps the gutter," asked: "By the way, who, if anyone, is Mr. Adams' boss?"

It was indeed hard to answer that question in the confusion of Washington, but the boss-aspirant, Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson, sought to play the lark among the Democrats. To demonstrate that the cries of horror were mock, he tried to keep the defense "debate" from seeming to be political. He said: "There is no point in arguing that things might have been better had things been done differently."

AS YOU DIGEST THIS OILY PLATITUDE, consider the diplomatic news of last week. As the Russians offer and the sane world urges negotiations at the summit between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., Secy. of State Dulles continues to play the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse all airborne in his own person. The White House dodges an answer to the Russians and then demands that the Russians answer themselves. And Harry Truman's Secy. of State; Dean Acheson, looking more and more like a figure out of Madame Tussaud's Wax Works, sneers at George Kennan for daring to suggest that there may be a way out of the Dulles dilemma. Kennan has broken the rules of the Club. It was, after all, Harry Truman who brought Dulles into the government to work with Acheson. It was Kennan who spelled out the policy of "containment," and he has committed the cardinal sin of indicating that the policy has failed.

As 100% proof that the defense "debate" is window-dressing, the House last week gave a 100% vote—388 to 0—to the President's request for $1,268,000,000 to speed the war program in the current fiscal year.

IN ALL THE HYSTERIA about sputnik and anti-missile missiles and pouting four-star generals, nobody seems to give a damn about unemployment (the Economic Report does not mention the word recession) or the slash in funds for health and welfare for people who are finding it harder and harder to make ends meet. Civil rights is out the window, and civil liberties a matter for the courts. Even as Congress studies ways to curb organization, the leaders of organized labor for the most part are devoting their energies in defense of our glorious system of free enterprise under which more jobs are created when bigger and better guns are to be made.

The only real debate in Washington today is not whether or not we should spend the people's money on weapons to kill other people, but simply how much more we should spend for this purpose.

This unpretty picture is not new. But it needs underscoring again and again. A recent visitor to Capitol Hill, a former New Deal official, came away completely depressed. Congressmen, he said, are concentrating on one thing: keeping their jobs.

IN THE FACE OF THIS PICTURE, political action by the independent Left is at its lowest point in history. As one sage put it, we have no place to go but up—and the time is long past to start the ascent.

—THE EDITORS

THE ROUT OF THE KKK

Earliest Americans rise up at un-American activities

By Louis E. Burnham

IN 1871, GEN. Francis C. Walker, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, advised that in dealing with Indians, "no question of national honor can arise. Whether to fight, to run away, or to employ a ruse, is solely a question of expediency."

A covey of Ku Klux Klansmen, flushed from a field near Maxton, N.C., on Jan. 18 by a band of Lumbee Indian braves, had probably never heard of Gen. Walker. However, when the Indians advanced with a few war whoops and much gunshot in the air, the bedsheet brigade found it most expedient to run. In the midst of legal developments which followed the encounter, the nation was still applauding the democratic initiative of the Lumbees.

George Dixon, Washington **Post** columnist, called the event "one of the most heart-warming episodes of modern American history." Sen. Paul Douglass (D-Ill.) remarked: "The earliest Americans are beginning to rise up against un-American activities."

THE ROUT: The trouble started when the Klan burned two crosses on Indian property in Robeson County in south-central North Carolina. The fiery crosses were intended to warn the Indians that the white men were displeased because an Indian family had moved into a home formerly occupied by whites and an Indian woman and white man were dating.

The Klan announced that it would return for a major Saturday night demonstration in a rented field near Maxton and that the principal speaker would be the Rev. James Cole of Marion, S.C. Cole is the Grand Wizard of the Klans of North and South Carolina and a part-time minister of the Free Will Baptist Church.

The Klansmen gathered, all right, but they didn't meet. They had reckoned without their hosts. Before Rev. Cole could use the microphone an Indian sharpshooter had shot out the single bulb which lighted the speakers' stand. Then "the Indian youths poured rifle and shotgun slugs into the darkened field where the rally had been scheduled" and "the heavily-armed Klansmen fled on foot and in cars." Four persons sustained slight injuries but the greatest apparent damage was to KKK prestige.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH: Simeon Oxendine, son of the mayor of Pembroke, an all-Indian town, said: "I don't know how many Indians were there, but enough to do the job. And I think the Klan is finished in Robeson County."

Two days after the rally, a Robeson County Grand Jury (three Indians, two Negroes, 13 white men) indicted Rev. Cole and another Kluxer on charges of inciting a riot. Cole, by then across the border in his South Carolina home, refused to respond to the indictment and a writ for his arrest was issued. Wizard Cole's police record, dating back to 1940, includes two convictions of simple assault, one of being drunk and disorderly and one of making false statements to obtain a chauffeur's license.

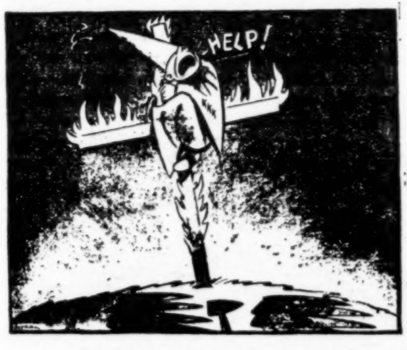
THE REMOVAL: The Lumbees are descendants of the Cherokees who once occupied large areas of Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. In the 1830's the Cherokees were driven west by Gen. Winfield Scott at the head of 7,000 troops and a non-military rabble of followers who confiscated the Indians' livestock, household goods and implements. Women and children were seized and thrown in concentration camps. One hundred Indians a day (4,000 out of 14,000) died on this "trail of tears," authorized by what was called the Indian Removal Act.

Some Cherokees escaped the terror of the Removal and joined the wildcats and bears in the Great Smoky Mountains. Gradually they returned from the wilds and re-acquired lands amounting to 1% of the territory which had been taken from them. Some settled in the Northwestern hills of the state and others in Robeson County. Robeson County's population today consists of 40,000 whites, 30,000 Indians and 25,000 Negroes. Five years ago the State Legislature changed the tribe's name from the Cherokee Indians of Robeson County to the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. The name is taken from the Lumber River in the vicinity.

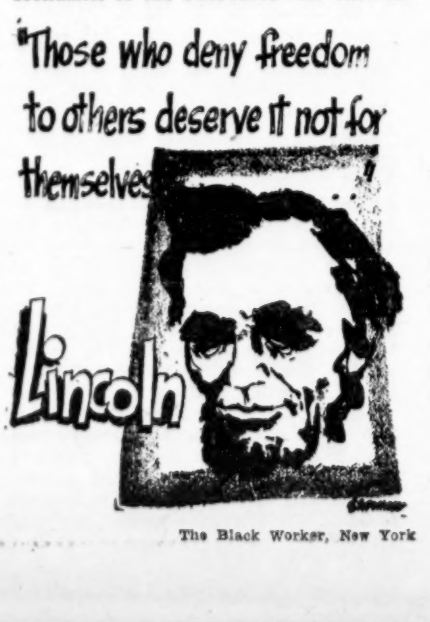
THE EXAMPLE: The Negro community of the South was quick to point to the routing of the Klan as an example of how to deal with white supremacy fanatics. The Pittsburgh **Courier** used this lead sentence on its story from Maxton: "Robeson County's Negroes may have learned something from the measures 1,000 enraged Indians took to break up a giant rally of the Ku Klux Klan near here." Oxendine said that he had attended a previous meeting in Lumberton in which Cole stood in the center of a Negro community and "said some awful things about the Negroes." The young Indian leader added: "The Negroes should have done something about that too."

But the Klan received some editorial encouragement from two influential quarters. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** acknowledged that the Lumbees had been greatly provoked, but added: "Nevertheless, they used force and violence to prevent a legal meeting from taking place. That's un-American, whether or not it is also un-Indian." The Washington **Post** also sympathized with the Indians but said: "The fact remains that by taking the law into their own hands they encouraged lawlessness of the very sort that the Ku Klux Klan embodies."

No one knew if Cole's men would seek to recover a Klan banner the Indians seized and "waved like a captured battle flag." One observer commented that it was the finest flag-waving since Mar. 16, 1945, when an Indian and three white men marked the capture of the toughest Pacific island by planting the Stars and Stripes on top of Iwo Jima.



Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle


"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves"
Lincoln

The Black Worker, New York

> *Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, and myself founded empires. But on what did we rest the creations of our genius? Upon force. Jesus Christ alone founded his empire upon love; and, at this hour, millions of men die for Him.*
>
> —*NAPOLEON BONAPARTE*

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Dulles seeking

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Baghdad Pact met Jan. 17-21 to discuss the desperate financial situation of the Middle East members. They noted that the U.S. and Britain had doled out nominal aid for such largely military projects as road and railroad links between member states.

Estimated cost of these projects was at least $300,000,000. Cash in hand was reported to be a U.S. contribution of $12,650,000, and $4,050,000 in British, Pakistani and Turkish currencies, all earmarked for preliminary surveys and technical assistance.

After a stormy debate, during which the Middle East Pact members urged genuine Western economic aid to offset Soviet offers, the committee resolved: "This is a world of economic no less than of political interdependence. Few national desires are stronger today than the wish of the peoples of the less-developed countries to improve their living standards."

But the British delegate bluntly said his government "is not in a position to commit further funds," and the U.S. delegate, the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported, "warned members in advance not to expect too much from Secy. Dulles when he arrives."

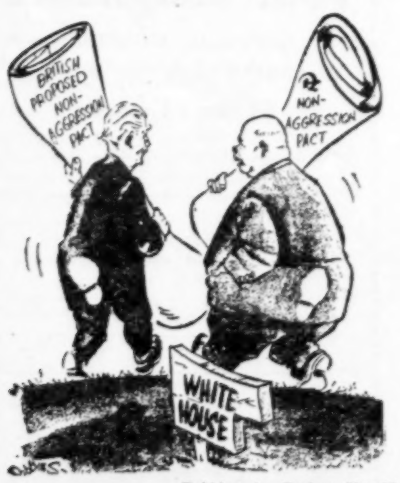
THE HARD SELL: Despite U.S. denials, it was taken for granted abroad that Dulles and Lloyd would try to sell nuclear weapons at Ankara. Turkey, also a NATO member, had already offered base sites and asked for rockets at the recent Paris NATO meeting. The **Christian Science Monitor** reported that, at the Baghdad Pact meeting, "heavy emphasis . . . is likely to be on military aspects of the pact [and] the need for . . . tactical atomic weapons."

Guided by Dulles, the Baghdad Pact conference undoubtedly will end by passing a resolution pleasing to Washington. It is also likely that the pact will be weakened—as happened at the Paris NATO conference—because of the West's disregard of the economic needs of the pact's Middle East members, who will not fail to learn of the Soviet offer at the Jan. 22 meeting of the UN's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East at Bangkok of long-term economic aid to all Asian countries.

The Soviet delegation also offered to buy Asian rubber, wool, cotton, rawhides and spices in return for farm machinery and iron and steel products.

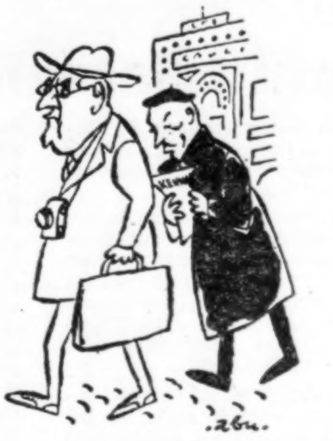
THREE STEPS: While Dulles pursued his chore of filling in the cracks in Washington's world-wide military pacts, popular demand abroad for a summit meeting to relieve East-West tensions became almost irresistible.

There was a general feeling that small beginnings in the most potentially explosive areas of tension were needed to overcome the distrust between the East and the West accumulated during the cold war period.



Dobbins in Boston Herald
"Did you get the same impression I got?"

Three minimum concrete steps appear in the programs to ease East-West tensions suggested by prominent individuals, scientists, peace groups and statesmen here and abroad: a Central European zone, either neutral or at least free of nuclear weapons; an arms embargo on the Middle East; and suspension of nuclear tests.



Bireshwar in National Herald, India
"Psst! Kennan's lectures, unexpurgated!"

'DISENGAGEMENT': In an article entitled "To Moscow—Slowly," the conservative London **Economist** last December proposed "thinning out the forces of the East and West in Germany" and "suspension of nuclear tests" as subjects worthy of East-West diplomatic exploration. The London **Times** supported the **Economist.** More recently, the British Labour Party has unanimously advocated such a move. Even in Britain's sedate House of Lords, Labour Peer Viscount Stansgate on Jan. 22 asked the government for a White Paper on "all relevant statements on disengagement" in Central Europe.

Among Washington's European allies—Britain and West Germany, for example—opposition parties in the government were united in their demand for an East-West summit meeting to initiate the three minimum steps toward the goal of coexistence. In the U.S., however, the Democratic opposition to the Administration was even more intransigent, and ideas of a "preventive war" still seemed to be lurking behind the scenes.

STUDY WAR SOME MORE: Former Secy. of State Dean Acheson, a member of the Democratic Party's foreign policy advisory group, volently repudiated George F. Kennan's suggestion for a minimum understanding with Moscow. Former President Truman heartily endorsed Acheson's attack.

At a Senate Preparedness Subcommittee hearing on Jan. 21, Chairman Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) disclosed the existence of another top secret report on "military attack strategy" when he asked retired Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz to comment on it. The **AP** reported (1/22): "Nimitz made it clear in reply that he was opposed to 'the idea of preventive war'." Nimitz added that he doubted there will be another world war because "people the world over are tired of war."

In his Jan. 16 speech before the National Press Club, Dulles dismissed world-wide opinion as "misled."

PEACE MISSION READY

Capt. Bigelow tells why he's sailing into bomb-test zone

CAPT. ALBERT BIGELOW, formerly of the U.S. Navy, left New York last week on the first stage of a peace mission that could be more dangerous than any of his wartime battles. He took a plane to San Pedro where a 30-foot ketch, "The Golden Rule," is being readied to take him and three companions into the area in which the U.S. is planning to stage its nuclear bomb tests this spring.

"The Golden Rule" is due to leave San Pedro on Feb. 10, making the voyage under sail in six weeks, which would bring it near Eniwetok early in April, the month set for the start of the tests. There the four men in their tiny craft will "speak with their whole lives" against the tests and against war itself. Capt. Bigelow said:

"I am going because, like all men, in my heart I know that all nuclear explosions are monstrous, evil, unworthy of human beings . . . because it is cowardly and degrading for me to stand by any longer, to consent, and thus to collaborate in atrocities. . . . If necessary, I am willing to give my life to help change a policy of fear, force and destruction to one of trust, kindness and help. . . . I am going because I have to—if I am to call myself a human being."

LONG ROAD: Capt. Bigelow, at 51, is the father of two children and grandfather of four, a successful painter and architect and a dabbler in Republican politics. (He has been Housing Commissioner of Massachusetts, was a precinct captain for Eisenhower in the 1952 primaries in Connecticut.) He has traveled a long road in his thinking since he last sailed the Pacific as commander of a submarine chaser and destroyer escort.

On the day after Pearl Harbor, Bigelow, with considerable maritime experience behind him, enlisted in the Navy. When he was slated to serve as instructor in a Naval training school he deliberately flunked a navigation examination and was promptly shipped out to sea and combat in the Solomon Islands. He recalls now with horror the "insensitivity which decent men develop" in war and how he, himself, gave the nickname "Smiling Jack" to a Japanese corpse that floated for days in a South Pacific cove.

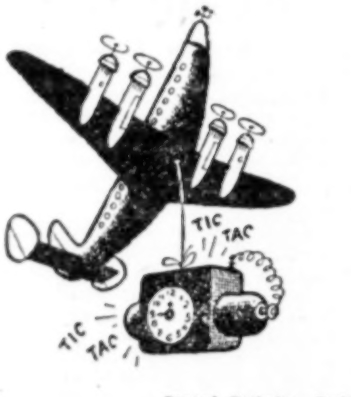
He was on the bridge of his destroyer escort sailing into Pearl Harbor when news came of the A-bomb blasting of Hiroshima. He only dimly grasped its full meaning, he recalls, but for the first time, it seemed to him that "morally war was impossible."

'UTTER BLASPHEMY': He turned to the Quakers but it was not until ten years after the war's end that Capt. Bigelow became seized with a sense of his mission. For some months in 1955 the Bigelows had as their guests two of the girl survivors of Hiroshima, who were brought to the U.S. for plastic surgery. The recollection that the girls had been only nine and 13 years old when the war struck them impressed Bigelow with the "utter blasphemy" of war. The fact that they nursed no resentment against the Americans who had blasted their lives moved Bigelow to commit himself to what has been called "massive reconciliation."

Last August Bigelow was among those arrested for attempting to walk onto the bomb testing grounds in the Nevada desert. His sentence was suspended. Last fall the New England office of the American Friends Service Committee asked Bigelow to present to the President petitions against the bomb tests signed by 17,411 Americans.

For an entire day, he said, he tried to reach Maxwell Rabb, secy. to the Cabinet. He had known Rabb in GOP politics in Massachusetts. Rabb was unavailable. He promised to return Bigelow's repeated phone calls but never did. Rabb's secretary suggested only that he leave the petitions with the policeman at the White House gate.

PROPAGANDA BY DEED: The experience seemed to Bigelow to be symptomatic "of a sort of fear on the part of officials to listen to what in their hearts they feel is right but on which they cannot act without breaking with old patterns of thought." The idea of the mission to Eniwetok took shape. The committee known as Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons set up offices at 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, and put the project into motion. A $20,000 budget was set for the trip. Half of the money has already been subscribed. The ketch is bought and outfitted.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Many volunteers have applied. The requirements are simple: they must be in sound physical shape, compatible, have some sailing experience or aptitude and above all, they must have a sincere conviction that the tests are monstrous and that this trip is necessary. Bigelow's friend, William Huntington, fellow architect and also a Quaker, has been accepted. Last week they were sifting the remaining finalists to pick the other two crew members.

When asked by reporters why he wouldn't expect the Navy to put a line aboard the ketch and tow it out of the danger waters, Capt. Bigelow recalled that the waters around Eniwetok are the high seas and that the U.S., currently insisting on freedom of the seas, cannot logically bar vessels from the area.

Among those reported sympathetic to the mission is the Rev. Martin Luther King. That seemed particularly fitting because Capt. Bigelow feels that the voyage is in the tradition of the passive resistance of Montgomery, Ala., as it is in the spirit of Gandhi and Thoreau and those who believe in the "propaganda of the deed."

Lamonts' peace letters get press blackout

DR. CORLISS LAMONT and his wife Margaret I. Lamont last week appealed in letters to President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin for a one-year suspension of nuclear weapons testing.

Noting that diplomatic discussions had so far failed to win agreement on a ban, the Lamonts proposed a unilateral suspension of the tests. They said that if either power declared such a suspension it would "catch the imagination of mankind" and "might break the international stalemate."

In both letters the Lamonts argued that neither country has anything to lose by such a step. They wrote: "Both countries, we understand, are already amply equipped with hydrogen bombs for military purposes. In any case, we do not think that either country intends to launch a military attack on the other."

The appeals were made, they said, "in the spirit of Albert Schweitzer's Declaration of Conscience, because we desire above all things to have our children and grandchildren, the American people and the Soviet people, and indeed all humanity, live in a peaceful world free from the burden of armaments and the dread of extermination."

PRESS BLACKOUT: The Lamont letters and a covering news release were sent to all the major dailies and the wire services. In New York, none of the papers carried a line about them. Two papers that did carry the news were the **Gazette and Daily** of York, Pa., and the Meriden, Conn., **Record.** The **Nation** printed the letter to Premier Bulganin in full in its Jan. 25 issue.

On Jan. 23, the Lamonts inserted both letters as a paid advertisement (more than half a page) in the N.Y. **Times** "as a public service in the interest of world peace." The ad also carried the Lamonts' address: 450 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.

WILL THE MILITARY OVERRULE THE REVOLUTION?

Venezuela: The people get rid of a dictator

By Elmer Bendiner

GEN. MARCOS PEREZ JIMENEZ, who for nine years had kept 6,000,0000 Venezuelans under the yoke by torture, concentration camps, bullets and machetes, often boasted that so long as the oil "boom" lasted, his people would never rise. Last week Venezuela was still turning out close to 2,000,000 barrels a day; the skyscrapers and highways that had been the dictator's pride were as magnificent as ever; TV aerials and coca-cola ads still marked the "ranchos" of the oil workers. But Perez Jimenez was in exile, sheltered by the one friend who stood by him, Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic.

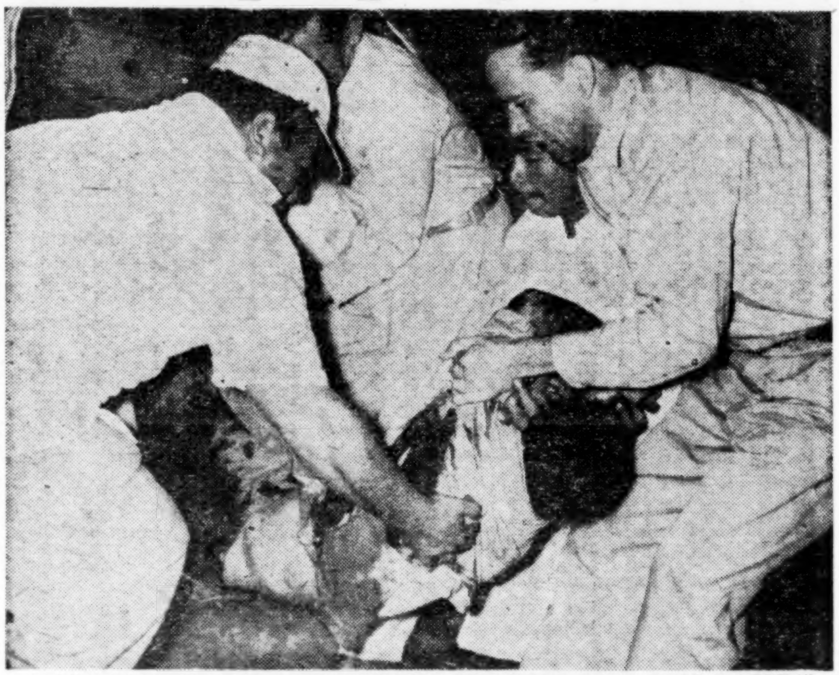
The dictator had frustrated an Air Force putsch on New Year's Day, thanks to a tip from a Canadian diplomat. He had begun to purge the armed forces of his enemies. Then, from a source he thought thoroughly beaten and divided, came the whirlwind that meant his end. The Venezuelan civilians, most of whom had some kin who had suffered torture or death under the dictatorship, tied up the country in a general strike and later in armed revolt.

STUDENTS IN ACTION: Dissident military officers hopped the bandwagon when it was obvious that the people were about to bring down the dictatorship. A rear admiral and a group of military men—with two civilians as a concession—took power; but as the GUARDIAN went to press, no civilians were reported turning in their submachine guns or their machetes.

During the week-end of Jan. 18-19, Venezuelans had been handed manifestoes by the nation's leading intellectuals. They had been outraged by the farcical plebiscite of December which had seemed to saddle the country with five more years of tyranny. Students were already in action. The University had been closed down but students in high schools and even grammar schools were demonstrating. Many were beaten and jailed; and when mothers protested, police struck at them with the flats of their machete blades. Leaflets flooded Caracas calling for a general strike on Jan. 21. They were signed by the "Patriotic Junta," an underground united front headed by Fabricio Ojeda, a young reporter on the daily **El Nacional.**

THE PARTIES: The Patriotic Junta reportedly included representatives of all parties, most of them outlawed: (1) Democratic Action, by far the largest, whose progressive administration had been overthrown by Perez Jimenez and fellow officers in 1948; (2) Republican Democratic Union, smaller and farther to the right; (3) Copei, the Christian Social Party, regarded as the political arm of the Roman Catholic Church, until recently the only "loyal opposition" tolerated by the dictatorship. The outlawed Communist Party was also said to be represented. (A shadow Communist Party, hostile to the outlawed group, has always been legal under the dictatorship).

At noon on Jan. 21, right on schedule, the shutters of Caracas shops clanged shut. Demonstrators converged on Plaza El Silencio. Police charged with drawn sabers, hurled tear gas bombs, fired repeatedly on the crowds. These constantly re-formed their lines and answered with stones and home-made gasoline bombs.



"DO YOU THINK THAT REVOLUTIONS ARE MADE WITH ROSE WATER?"
—Chamfort

The revolution in Venezuela was made with the blood of strikers like the one above whose lifeless body is carried by friends after being shot by police . . . and with the blood of the secret police whose headquarters were stormed to free political prisoners like newspaper publisher Miguel Angel Caoriles, below left.

At 6 p.m. on Jan. 22 Rear Adm. Wolfgang Larrazabal and eight other officers conferred in a military school. A Navy career man without political connections, but also with no record of hostility to the Perez regime, Larrazabal headed the junta which dispatched an ultimatum to Perez Jimenez to resign by 10 p.m. During the afternoon nine Navy destroyers steamed into Caracas and pointed their guns at the capital. Army units were alerted. Before the deadline Perez Jimenez sent word he would discuss terms. At 2 a.m. Jan. 23 he resigned and by 3:08 the General, his family and aides were on a plane bound for Ciudad Trujillo.

THE PEOPLE REACT: Admiral Larrazabal announced a five-man junta, all military. Three of them had been close supporters of the dictator and two had been instrumental in beating down the New Year's Day Air Force putsch. The regime did not inspire confidence on the part of civilians and the Patriotic Junta kept hands off. As a concession, two civilians were later added: a university instructor and industrialist Eugenio Mendoza. Mendoza, who hurried back to Caracas from New York, was not closely involved in Venezuelan politics but was never known to oppose the government.

To soothe civilian feeling and quiet the persistent demonstrations, the Admiral reshuffled his junta, expelling two of the dictator's cronies. These left at once for Curacao.

The Junta lifted press censorship, ordered the release of political prisoners and promised free elections, perhaps next year. It also announced adherence to "democratic principles and the Roman Catholic religion," and guaranteed all U.S. investments.

In the streets of Caracas claxons sounded as Venezuelans poured out to celebrate the fall of the dictator. Then they marched on the Obispo Prison, headquarters of the secret police, the Model Prison and the Dominican Embassy. The secret police, known to have tortured and killed thousands, opened fire on the crowds. How many died or were wounded in the assault is unknown. The police reportedly killed a number of prisoners in their cells before they could be freed. Some security officers captured by the crowd were beaten to death. When infantry units and tank crews who were seen fraternizing with civilians finally stormed the prison the police surrended and the prisoners were freed. The revolt had cost an estimated 400 dead and 2,000 wounded.

Boy scouts, student patrols and troops maintained order in the cities as police were kept in their barracks to save them from popular vengeance. Ojeda of the Patriotic Junta appealed from the Palace for political order while he continued to press the Admiral for elections soon.

SCENE IN NEW YORK: In New York, meanwhile, the exiled heads of the major opposition parties met in a flurry of champagne toasts to liberation and agreements to work peacefully toward a democratic reconstruction. Dr. Romulo Betancourt of Democratic Action, the first democratic president of Venezuela (1945-1948), and Dr. Jovito Villalba of the Republican Democratic Union had been in exile for almost a decade. Dr. Rafael Caldera of Copei had fled Jimenez only a week earlier, after church opposition to the dictatorship had grown sharp. The three agreed to form a "Great Civic Front" pledged "to avoid open struggle between political factions and parties."

Betancourt's Manhattan suite looked like a perpetual cabinet session as he dictated memoranda and talked to reporters. Venezuelans and Cubans went in and out in a steady stream, predicting that Batista would be the next to land in Ciudad Trujillo. "Soon," said one exile, "they will have only Spain to go to."

Villalba was the first exiled leader to go back. He told welcoming crowds in Caracas that Venezuela must insist on '"national sovereignty" in dealing with the oil companies and "we have many matters to settle with the U.S." which he accused of supporting Latin American dictatorships.

IMPACT ON U.S.: The fall of dictators Odria of Peru, Rojas of Colombia and Peron of Argentina last year cheered exile hopes. But the ouster of Perez Jimenez is perhaps more significant for the U. S. than the others. The U. S. has $3,000,000,000 invested in Venezuela. The State Dept. has held the country up as a model, decorated the dictator with medals and given him the guns to subdue all opposition. Any popular regime that succeeds the dictatorship is likely to resist the phenomenal profit-taking rate of the oil companies and to tar the U.S. with the sins of its protege, Perez Jimenez.

FACES DEATH IN S. KOREA

Gov't re-opens deportation case of David Hyun

DAVID HYUN, Los Angeles architect, is the son of a founder of the 1919 Korea independence movement and himself a life-long foe of Syngman Rhee. In 1953, although no criminal act was charged, Hyun was arrested and held at Terminal Island, San Pedro, for deportation on the grounds of alleged undesirable political associations during 1945 and 1946.

More than 100 exhibits and affidavits from eyewitnesses showed the possibility of death for David Hyun if deported to Rhee's Korea, and a stay of deportation was granted. Hyun was released.

On November 9, 1957, the deportation case was re-opened and the stay of deportation revoked on the basis of "recent information regarding conditions in South Korea." A new hearing is set for Feb. 28, 1958.

Urgently needed are eyewitness statements by people who saw, at any time during the three years 1955, 1956 or 1957, instances of physical persecution by the Rhee government forces in Korea. Original news items, or articles from magazines dealing with South Korea police-state measures, are needed. Also photographs accompanied by sworn affidavits regarding them.

If readers of the GUARDIAN are able to reach any missionary, businessman, soldier, government or UN official or writer they are urged to do so as quickly as possible. Statements should be in the hands of David Hyun's lawyer not later than Feb. 14 in order that they can be incorporated into the legal brief being prepared for the Feb. 28 hearing.

All such material should be airmailed to Mary Hyun, P. O. Box 26026, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

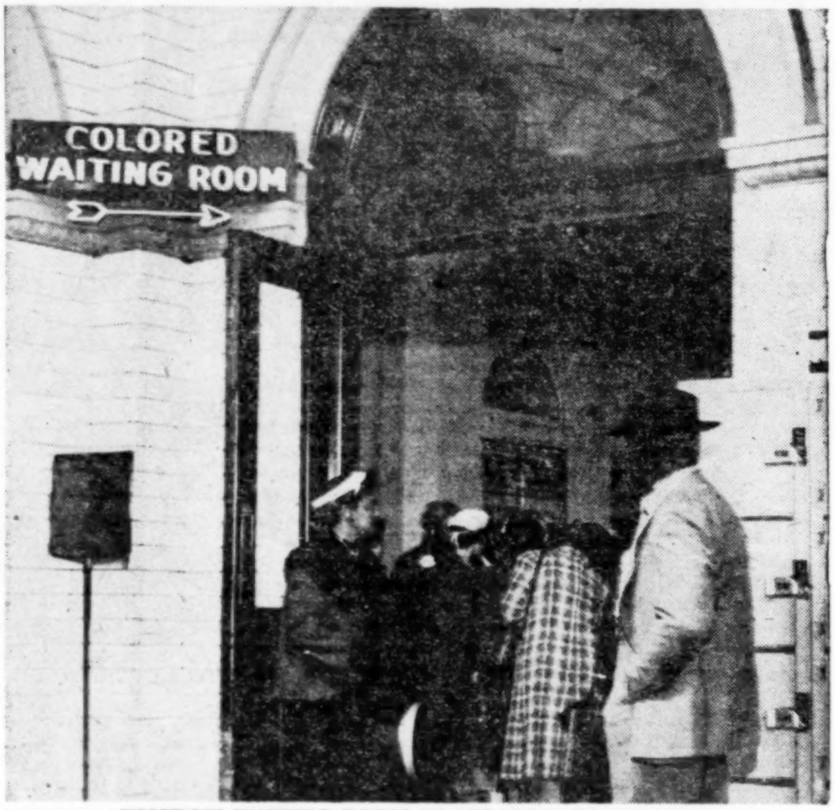
A LUXURY THE NATION CAN'T AFFORD

The high cost of keeping jimcrow

SINCE THE SUPREME COURT handed down its historic decision in the 1954 school cases it has become more fashionable to point out that segregation is not only legally insupportable, but also costly. Southern Negroes and liberals have been making this point for decades. But a recent article in the **Wall Street Journal** (12/17/57) reveals that the high cost of jimcrow is becoming an increasing concern of Southern businessmen as well.

The most obvious extra cost of jimcrow is the unusual tax burden required to maintain separate public facilities for Negro and white Southerners. Where the community must provide two schools, two hospitals, two libraries instead of one, revenue is bound to be drained away from other needed projects, and the total community is bound to be poorer than an integrated one with the same basic resources.

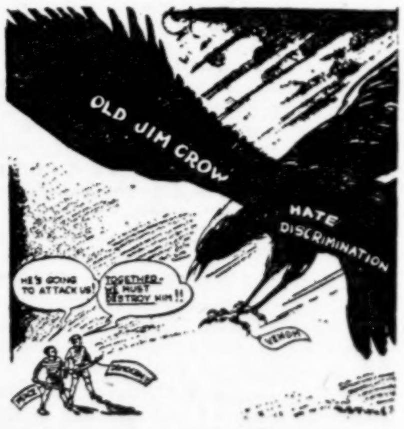
Jimcrow also decrees that private businessmen must provide separate facilities such as cafeterias, rest rooms, drinking fountains, for both employes and patrons. Vance Greenslit, president of Southeastern Greyhound Lines, told the **Journal**: "It frequently costs 50% more to build a terminal with segregated facilities."



JIMCROW WAITING ROOM IN ATLANTA, GA., STATION
"It frequently costs 50% more to build a terminal with segregated facilities."

PLAY BY EAR: Transportation companies, especially bus lines, now find themselves caught between a federal injunction to integrate facilities used in interstate transportation and state laws requiring segregated facilities for intrastate passengers. Greenslit confessed: "On building and operating our terminals, we play it by ear. We conform with everybody's customs and everybody's law. We try to do this even if the laws conflict. Don't ask me how we manage it, but we do."

The separate facilities, of course, were always, by law, supposed to be equal. Actually they never have been. In 1948 Montgomery, Ala., built the George Washington Carver and the Booker T. Washington high schools for Negroes at a combined cost of $500,000. Both could be housed in one wing of the massive Sidney Lanier High School built for whites in 1928 for $1,000,000.



Plous in Arkansas State Press
He must be destroyed, if peace and democracy are to win in America.

Neither approximated in any way the $2,000,000 Robert E. Lee High School for whites which opened in 1956. The N.Y. **Post** pointed out that, with the Negro population of Montgomery 40% of the total, "the disparity [between white and Negro schools] was much greater than the sums it cost to build them."

TWO STANDARDS: Until recent years the Southern states made no pretense of trying to provide equal schools for Negro children. In the cities high schools were constructed without laboratories and gymnasiums. Swimming pools and elaborate athletic grounds were provided for white but not for Negro children. Public school training in skilled vocations was denied Negro children altogether.

In rural areas the gap was even more shocking. Many counties provided no high schools whatsover for Negro children. Elementary schools still meet in broken-down shacks, church buildings and abandoned filling stations in backwoods Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama.

So long as the South could get away with this kind of public depravity the extra costs of jimcrow were tolerable to the business people and the planters who controlled the state governments. If Mississippi had to spend only $35.27 on the education of each Negro school child in 1952 while allotting $117.43 for each white child, who, besides Negroes and "radicals," would object to the dual school system?

The extra costs were not really large in terms of the South's total resources, and they were a necessary item in a system designed to provide large pools of untrained, uneducated, easily exploited labor for plantations and urban sweatshops. In a sense, the high cost of segregation is the price the South has been willing to pay to guarantee to itself the monetary fruits of white supremacy.

CHANGING OPINION: As the Southern states have been forced to improve the educational opportunities of Negroes in the past 15 years in a vain effort to stave off integration, conservative leaders have begun to wonder whether the result is worth the price. In Alabama educational expenses accounted for 71% of the $125,750,000 state budget for 1956.

Fayetteville, Ark., was paying $500-600 a year for Negro high school pupils and $125-$150 for whites; the law insisted on separate facilities for the minority of Negro children in the school district. Five days after the May, 1954, Supreme Court desegregation decision, Fayetteville officials integrated their schools. School supt. Wayne White said: "Segregation was a luxury we could no longer afford."

Fayetteville was the exception. The South responded to the 1954 ruling with plans of moderation at best, massive resistance at worst. But the growing demands which a segregated system has imposed upon the public purse has provided a climate in which many for the first time can see how segregation wastes not merely the financial, but also the human resources of the South. A growing number of white Southerners are in a mood to listen to Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., when he says:

"When is the South going to stop beating itself over the head with this race prejudice business? One thing is certain: it is not helping the South any. It is bad any way you look at it. It will destroy any man or people if indulged in long enough. It is keeping industry out of the South, and is causing our best young people to leave the South. Sixty-five percent of white young people who graduate from Mississippi colleges go elsewhere."

PRICE OF UNREASON: A further cost of segregation is the toll it exacts of human rationality. To contend that Negroes, who are 40% of Memphis' population, have equal access to the municipal zoo when their visits are restricted to one day a week requires a considerable sacrifice of intellectual integrity. The large Southern bank which discourages Negro customers because "it wouldn't do if there were too many Negroes in our lobby" would seem to be at the very least cutting off its nose to spite its face.

Montgomery, Ala., still smarting from a year-long boycott in which Negroes abolished jimcrow in bus transportation, is now proposing to erect a public library at a cost of $1,000,000. Nine-tenths of the total is to be spent for a main building and $100,000 will go to build a Negro branch.

Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes are 46% of the city's population. There is little doubt that they will protest and appeal this arrangement, and that they will be sustained with a court ruling that the library facilities are unequal and therefore illegal. Nevertheless, Montgomery's white leaders, and the South's principal spokesmen, persist in holding back the future, in defying national policy, world opinion and plain reason.

Many believe that, of all the costs of jimcrow, this insistence on irrationality is the one the South and the nation can least afford to pay.

APPEALS COURT SPLITS OVER WATKINS DECISION

Barenblatt loses in contempt case; he'll appeal again

THE WASHINGTON D.C. Court of Appeals has re-affirmed by a 5-4 decision the first of three First Amendment contempt of Congress convictions returned to it by the Supreme Court for reconsideration in the light of last year's Watkins decision.

The high court last June reversed the conviction of John T. Watkins, a labor organizer, for refusing to name people he knew as Communists to the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Court held that Congressional committees may not compel answers merely for the sake of exposure, that the legislative purpose of questions must be made clear, and that "it would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution" than that creating the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Appeals Court decision came in the case of Lloyd Barenblatt, former Vassar College psychology teacher, who refused in 1954 to answer questions of the House Committee on alleged Communist affiliations. The majority opinion was written by Judge Walter M. Bastian who, with Judges Warren E. Burger and George T. Washington, affirmed Barenblatt's original conviction before the case went to the Supreme Court.

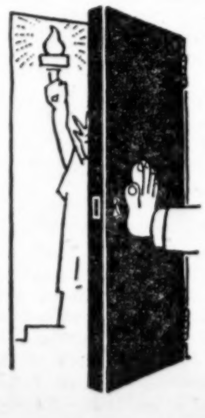
SWEEZY CASE CITED: Judge Bastian's opinion rejected the contention that the Supreme Court had intended by the Watkins decision to strike down the resolution authorizing the House Committee. It also rejected the contention that the Supreme Court reversal of the conviction of Paul Sweezy, co-editor of the **Monthly Review**, limited the House Committee's right to inquire into the field of education.

Judge Washington this time dissented on the basis of the Sweezy decision. Judges David L. Bazelon and Charles Fahey and Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton agreed with Judge Washington's dissent; and Bazelon dissented on the further grounds that under the Watkins decision the House Committee lacked the power to compel testimony on anything.

UNDEFINED AREA: Judge Edgerton wrote: "I understand Watkins to hold that the Committee . . . had no authority to compel testimony because it had no definite assignment from Congress." He said that "no one could reasonably deduce" from the Committee's authorizing resolution what it was supposed to investigate, and continued:

"Since Congress did not define that area, there can be no proof that the Committee's questions were within it. It follows that the defendant must be acquitted."

The other cases sent back with Barenblatt's to the same court—those of attorney Harry Sacher and labor leader Abraham Flaxer—have not yet been ruled upon. Barenblatt, who faces a $250 fine and six months in jail, intends to take his case back to the Supreme Court.



REBELS PRAY—AND FIGHT—FOR FREEDOM
Troops of the Algerian Natl. Liberation Front bow with rifles handy

MRS. HAUG TESTIFIES

It's an informer vs. defendant in Cleveland T-H case

THE CLEVELAND Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case was in the hands of a Federal court jury as this issue of the GUARDIAN went to press. The jury's decision rested on whether it believed the testimony of the key defendant, former United Electrical Workers' organizer Marie Reed Haug, that she left the Communist Party in 1949, a full year before signing her first T-H non-communist affidavit in 1950; or that of a former Communist functionary, Fred L. Gardner, that he collected "contributions" from her in 1952 in lieu of CP dues.

Gardner's testimony was uncorroborated. Mrs. Haug testified that she had written a letter of formal resignation to the CP and had received a letter of acceptance following a UE convention decision in 1949 to comply with the T-H Law in order to obtain services of the National Labor Relations Board.

OWN THINKING: Mrs. Haug and her husband, Fred, are separately accused of having filed false T-H affidavits, she in the years 1950-53 and he in 1952 as an officer of a Mine-Mill local. In the current trial they are accused of participation in a conspiracy with five others to file false affidavits or cause them to be filed. Of the five, Eric Reinthaler, trade unionist and Purple Heart veteran, testified that he left the CP in 1954. The other defendants—Hyman Lumer, Sam Reed, Andrew Remes and James West—did not testify but were identified by court-appointed counsel as present CP members.

Mrs. Haug, a Vassar College graduate, member of the Phi Beta Kappa honor scholarship fraternity and a Progressive Party leader in the Wallace-for-President campaign and after, testified that she joined the CP as a Vassar undergraduate in 1935. Asked if she ever took directives from the CP she replied:

"No, I don't take directions from anybody. I do my own thinking."

WON'T NAME OTHERS: She said she was proud of her union activities "because I was following my mother's beliefs. She was a suffragette." Mrs. Haug testified that her husband had left the CP in 1950, two years before he signed the T-H affidavit the government claims was false. He did not testify.

As to Gardner's accusations, she said she might have given him contributions to the National Negro Labor Council, a group whose activities were approved by her union, but that she was annoyed at him "because I thought he was trying to get me to rejoin the Party." She testified that she told him at the time that there were "plenty of persons in this town who would like to frame me." She refused under cross-examination to say whether other Ohio UE leaders were Communists. "My conscience will not permit me to disclose such information," she told the court. She was not directed to answer.

GOVERNMENT YIELDS AFTER 5 YEARS

Hinton gets his China footlocker back

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT on Jan. 22 returned to William H. Hinton a footlocker containing personal property he had accumulated during seven years as an agricultural technician in China, and thus avoided the necessity of explaining to the U.S. Court of Appeals why it had seized and kept the material in the first place.

The footlocker and its contents, consisting of personal correspondence, notes, articles, posters, photographs and a library of books on modern China, were held for examination by the U.S. Customs at Newport, Vt., when Hinton returned to the U.S. in 1953. In 1955 Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security Committee got them from the Treasury Dept. without a warrant and used them as the basis for a spectacular three-day hearing in 1956.

COURT ACTION: Following the hearing Milton H. Friedman of New York, attorney for Hinton, started action in the Federal Court for recovery of the papers. Sen. Eastland thereupon turned them over to U.S. Atty. Oliver Gasch who refused to surrender them until the day of his scheduled court appearance.

Hinton hailed the action as a victory for "the rights of all people to free access to knowledge." He said: "My papers were first called foreign propaganda, then foreign assets, and 'the most extraordinary evidence of the international communist conspiracy ever to come to the notice of this Committee.'

"Finally, for the last year and a half Oliver Gasch, while refusing to return my property to me, has maintained that he was trying to get one grand jury after another to find in the papers some evidence of criminality. The only crime involved here is the crime of unreasonable seizure of a private citizen's personal property by government officials in an attempt to deny to the American people their right to know, hear reports on, and read about the rest of the world including China."

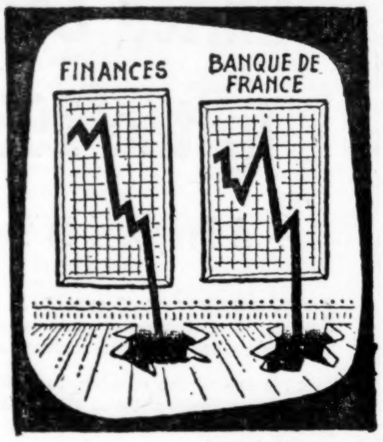
Give This Paper To A Friend

FOR JEAN DUPONT: BELT-TIGHTENING

An unhappy France proves guns AND butter don't mix

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS



Canard Enchaine, Paris

AVERAGE CITIZEN Jean Dupont, putting away his Christmas tree, looked at the presents his government had put beneath it for him and found nothing to cheer, much to worry about.

Algerian pacification seemed to go on as merrily as ever. Peace rumors launched in mid-December, at the time of the rapidly and unanimously voted UN resolution on Algeria, had long since died down. In Algiers, the same military "last-quarter-hour" optimism was accompanied by the same tight clamp on dissenters. Not only so-called liberal or progressive papers were being periodically confiscated there; lately, the Paris Catholic daily **La Croix** carrying Algerian reports had also been seized.

In Paris, the over-all plan for local Algerian self-rule—that had served as a good will alibi in the UN discussions—was being watered down to a legal mockery that no Algerian spokesman of any sort could subscribe to.

To sweeten the Algerian pill, fabulous publicity recently attended the arrival of the first four tank-cars of Sahara oil at Philippeville in Algeria. No one mentioned the cost of the three-day transport of the oil by pipeline and railway with tank, infantry and helicopter coverage all along its several hundred miles of war-bound passage; nor was there any official comment on the Algerian war's new Sahara front whose Anglo-American and perhaps Italian and German "inspiration" was becoming a frank and favorite topic in French politicians' private conversations.

THE COST OF LIVING: Inflation was staggering and government bulletins obligingly announced that by the time of the new year, bread would be up 4%, electricity 5%, textiles 8%, subway and bus fares 50%. Gas prices had risen 30-40%, fruit about 40%, wine about 25%. Conservative estimates set the cost-of-living increase at 20-30%. At that rate, the sliding wage scale had to go up, but wage raises remained far behind the cost of living. There was a notable decrease of food buying, and meat market sales shifted from beef and veal to less expensive pork and horse meat. Movie houses began to be half empty. Gas consumption was down 7% in November and December. It was too early for over-all statistics on the retail and wholesale business slump.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

The government meanwhile continued arms spending while it negotiated new loans from the International Monetary Fund (Germany, for all practical purposes) and the United States, getting still further away from economic independence.

France was becoming a text-book example of the fact that most European countries cannot afford cannons and butter, and that the cold war might, before anything else, be lost on the economic front.

UNEASY CALM: NATO, rocket sites and East-West developments showed the French government had once again abandoned the useful, active role it could play in favor of peace and betterment of international relations, in favor of riding on Washington's bandwagon. There were rumors that rocket sites were really to be installed in the French Alps. The government so far had avoided a House debate on the question. The country, saddled with too many other and too many more immediate worries, seemed to sit back and take stock. It was hard to believe the calm would last long. The only question was when and how and by what it would break.

The old year closed and the new year opened on a few events that drew no front-page headlines, but were, in a way, symbolic.

In an exceptional Sorbonne session, the degree of Doctor of Mathematical Sciences was bestowed on a young scientist who wasn't there. Instead of congratulations, a minute of silence was observed. The young scientist's name was Maurice Audin. He had been taken from his Algiers home by French parachutists on June 11, and was reported in flight shortly after co-prisoners had seen him half-dead from torture. The Sorbonne session was generally considered to take the place of the funeral Audin was unlikely to have. There went one of the country's scientists whom his professor called a brilliant scholar and an exceptionally gifted mathematician.

EDUCATION AND HONOR: Some 4,000 Sorbonne science students, headed by their professors, held a protest meeting before the Halle aux Vins, Paris' giant wine warehouses. Their complaint: a new science quarters above one of the warehouses was delayed over and over because of the big wine wholesalers' objections. Existing quarters offer its 6,000 students facilities barely adequate for 2,000. Many students can attend lectures only standing up, or not at all. Many others, for sheer lack of space and overcrowding, can never get into a lab.

The material situation of the students is not much better in other branches of learning. University statistics show that in 1956, 77% of law, 75% of science, 72% of medical students quit the university before the term was over and started earning a living some other way. (The corresponding Soviet figures show only 1-2% of Soviet students interrupt their university education). Thus it went with the country's future.

Two more orphans of Nazi occupation were put in prison because they refused obedience to NATO General Speidel who, occupying Paris some 15 years ago, had been directly or indirectly responsible for their fathers' death. **Humanite**, Communist Party organ and one of the few papers to campaign for their liberation and to keep saying unkind things about Speidel, was being brought to trial by the government, whose major witness would be Speidel himself. Thus it went with the country's independence and with what some people persisted in calling its self-respect and its honor.

ADVERTISEMENT

For a United Socialist Ticket In the 1958 Elections

— A Proposal to the Radical Movement —

IN CONSIDERING what to do in the 1958 elections, we have reached the conclusion that an unusual opportunity for running joint slates in some key areas now faces the various socialist tendencies.

We are of the opinion, moreover, that a united socialist ticket, challenging the two parties of Big Business, would meet with the approval and perhaps the enthusiasm of tens and even hundreds of thousands of militant workers.

For example, the response to the Socialist Workers candidates in the 1957 New York, Detroit and San Francisco elections indicates widespread sentiment among radical-minded workers for independent socialist electoral activity.

In addition, the stand taken by the National Guardian and such representative radical spokesmen as Vincent Hallinan, Muriel McAvoy, Warren K. Billings, George Hitchcock, and George Olshausen in favor of the Socialist Workers candidates as against the capitalist tickets, despite important disagreements with them on a number of questions, provides persuasive evidence, we believe, for the view that common action by the various socialist tendencies is possible.

Can this promising beginning in 1957 lead to something more substantial in 1958? We believe it can. A united campaign in 1958 might well end the present isolation of the American socialist movement and bring it into the main stream of political life where it rightfully belongs.

The first step in working for a united socialist ticket, it seems to us, is to open a discussion on its feasibility.

In our opinion it should be possible to work out a platform on which the various tendencies can agree for the purpose of combined action in the 1958 elections. Once this is achieved, the organization of the campaign, the choice of candidates and electioneering plans should not offer too many difficulties.

To start the discussion, we suggest that the following propositions, with such elaboration or modification as may finally be agreed upon, be included as planks in the platform of a united socialist ticket for 1958:

(1) Socialism offers a realistic alternative to the insane drive towards thermonuclear war which the two parties of Big Business have been conducting. Replace the bipartisan, cold-war, imperialist foreign policy of the Democrats and Republicans with a socialist policy of friendship and aid to the countries of the Soviet orbit and the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for their freedom. End the atom-bomb tests. Dismantle the stockpiles of atomic weapons.

(2) Socialism offers the only permanent solution to the problem of capitalist depression. As an immediate measure to counterbalance the decline in employment, shorten the work-week at no decrease in take-home pay. Let the government guarantee full employment or adequate permanent relief. Convert the armaments program into a program of public works.

(3) Socialism can realize the full equality and brotherhood of all races and nationalities. Right now let the labor movement rally full support to the struggle of the Negro people for their civil rights and civil liberties. For effective FEPC legislation. For immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court order to end desegregation in the schools.

(4) Socialism stands for the deepening and extension of democracy. Repeal the witch-hunt legislation at home and free such political prisoners as Morton Sobell, Gil Green, Henry Winston. and Irving Potash. For political freedom throughout the Soviet bloc. End the ballot restrictions on minority parties in the United States.

(5) Socialists favor the building of a labor party based on the unions and would urge such a party to adopt a socialist program. In the absence of a labor party, the socialist movement calls on unionists to register their protest against the anti-labor policies of the capitalist parties by voting socialist. Against the support of capitalist parties and candidates; for independent political action.

We urge that our proposal for a united socialist ticket in 1958 be considered with fraternal understanding. We want to arrive at the most effective electoral policy in 1958 and are ready to consider all other viewpoints. May we hear from you either directly or through your comments to the National Guardian?

— National Committee, Socialist Workers Party

116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

John L. Lewis on Meany and Reuther

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and a founder of the CIO, was interviewed on Jan. 5 by Martin Agronsky on the NBC-TV program "Look Here." Following are excerpts of that broadcast.

AGRONSKY: What do you think of the quality of [the AFL-CIO] leadership, of George Meany, for example?

LEWIS: Well, I think as far as Mr. Meany is concerned he's an honest plumber trying to abolish sin in the labor movement, which is not the function of the labor movement. . . . I think that the AFL-CIO was not formed to regulate the morals of the American workingman, and I don't think it can.

AGRONSKY: I wonder if we could talk about one other major labor leader, Mr. Walter Reuther?

LEWIS: Well, Mr. Reuther is an earnest Marxist chronically inebriated, I think, by the exuberance of his own verbosity.

AGRONSKY: Well, certainly his record demonstrates that in terms of his dealing with Communism he was more instrumental than anyone else in cleansing the labor movement of the Communist influence. Would you accept that, sir?

LEWIS: No, I don't think I would go that far in my estimate of his accomplishments.

AGRONSKY: Then you don't think much then really of Mr. Meany or Mr. Reuther apparently?

LEWIS: Oh, I think a great deal of them as individuals but as leaders of the American labor movement I think they are not proving to be successful. I think that the labor movement is not bringing new blood into the organization and organizing the unorganized, which was the shibboleth of the AFL for a half-century, and I think that the labor movement is living upon its own fat and its new members are merely gained by extension of plant economy.

UAW drops

(Continued from Page 1)

his own union—the jobless—among whom anti-union talk is already being heard.

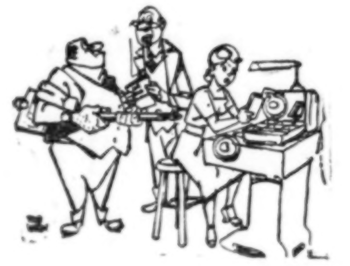
DIVIDED OPPOSITION: After a hand vote, Reuther estimated that 90% of the 3,000 delegates had supported his proposal. A request from the floor failed to muster the 800 votes needed to force a rollcall vote. Whatever the exact vote, Reuther won a big majority. This was because:

- Unlike the Reuther administration, the opposition was neither organized nor prepared for a fight. Taken by surprise only a week before the convention, its leaders were on the defensive and were not united against the profit-sharing scheme.
- At the start of the convention it was plain from the applause that a majority of the delegates didn't know what stand to take. In the end, doubts of this kind tend to be resolved in favor of the union administration; only people who are sure of themselves vote against an entrenched leadership.
- One international representative was assigned to sit with every local delegation—"to help them with their problems." The representatives didn't order anyone to vote for Reuther's plan, but their presence had an inhibiting effect on all delegates hoping some day to carve out a career on the union payroll, and aware that a "no" vote would put them in the Reuther machine's black book.
- In addition, Reuther at the last minute divided the opposition by making an apparent concession. A week before the convention he had recommended that the fight for a shorter week "be deferred at this time." But at the convention he contended that it could still be won this year through his profit-sharing plan. The workers, he said, could decide at the end of the year when their share of the profits was computed, how they wanted it applied: in cash, wage raises, higher pensions — or toward a shorter work week the following year! This reduction to small change was enough to satisfy some former proponents of the shorter week who were eager to find an accommodation with Reuther.

JOBS AND PEACE: Unemployment, now at its highest point in the auto industry since World War II, was the specter hovering over this convention. All delegates began by reciting how it had hit their plants. And all delegates referred to it to justify their positions—for or against the Reuther plan. It now ranks with speedup as the key issue in the auto union, and undoubtedly will exert strong pressure on the coming negotiations with the corporations.

A notable feature of the convention was the almost complete failure of leaders and delegates to relate the economic conditions of the members to the peace issue. Reuther undertook to deliver a lecture to the delegates on the causes of inflation—without once mentioning the inflation-generating role of the permanent war economy (which in the final analysis is what he depends on as the answer to unemployment).

Only two delegates spoke up on the question of peace. Calling for a moratorium on war budgets and bigger armies, they urged the UAW to join the fight for a lasting peace as an indispensable part of the fight for full employment. It is an index to the political backwardness of the American labor movement that both these delegates came from Canada.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"I know the contract may permit it, but what about the law?"

Lavoro, Rome

"Madam, it was love at first sight . . ."

SWP CAMPAIGN

30,000 signatures sought in Michigan

A DRIVE to collect 30,000 signatures to put a socialist ticket on the ballot in Michigan in 1958 was announced today by Rita Shaw, state secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

State law requires the submission of 15,315 signatures by registered voters. "But we're not taking any chances," Mrs. Shaw said.

Mrs. Shaw asked for help in collecting the signatures from all who think it would be a public service for socialist ideas to be heard in the 1958 campaign. Nominating petitions may be obtained from campaign headquarters at 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Michigan.

BOOKS

'The Empire of High Finance'

SINCE VICTOR PERLO is writing frequently in the GUARDIAN, it is appropriate to bring to attention again his magnificent latest book* into which he has crowded an education in political economy. The amount of information contained in it is astonishing. The reader is awed at contemplation of the enormous labor which must have been expended in its collection, selection and analysis.

Facts are stated clearly and with precision. For example, in discussing the Dixon-Yates scandal, Perlo informs us:

"The First Boston Corp. was financial advisor to the Dixon-Yates syndicate, while its law firm, Sullivan & Cromwell, represented the syndicate throughout. First Boston placed one of its directors, Adolph Wenzell, in the Budget Bureau to draft the Dixon-Yates project, revealing in his memoranda the ultimate objective of completely liquidating TVA.

"The Rockefeller man, Lewis L. Strauss, as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, pushed through the Dixon-Yates contract over the opposition of the majority of the Commissioners. And Atty. Gen. Brownell, political agent of the Dewey-Aldrich machine, sent FBI agents to 'investigate' the city of Memphis, which opposed the deal.

"Other government official accomplices were Directors Joseph Dodge (Detroit Trust Co.) and Rowland Hughes (First National City Bank) and SEC Chairman Ralph Demmler, a partner of the Mellon law firm, Reed, Smith, Shaw & McClay."

SPIDER WEB: He has already revealed that First Boston Corp. is the financial agent of the Rockefeller interests; that Strauss was a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co., another such; and that their attorneys are Sullivan & Cromwell, of which firm John Foster Dulles is chief partner.

VAN WYCK BROOKS
The instructed soul

The book describes with devastating proof and clarity what it calls the "Spider Web"—the vast system of alliances by which a handful of enormously wealthy people control the finances and industries of the country and dictates the domestic and foreign policies of its government. The implications are frightening.

Perlo's **American Imperialism** made a powerful impact upon those who did not understand our "benign" penetration of undeveloped areas. His present work disposes of the myth of "Peoples' Capitalism."

Surprisingly, for a work of this kind, it is extremely entertaining. As an economic and social document, it rates with such classics as Lincoln Steffen's **Autobiography**, Gustavus Myer's **History of the Great American Fortunes** and Harvey O'Connor's **Empire of Oil.**

—**Vincent Hallinan**

**THE EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE, by Victor Perlo. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16, N. Y. 352 pp., $5.50.*

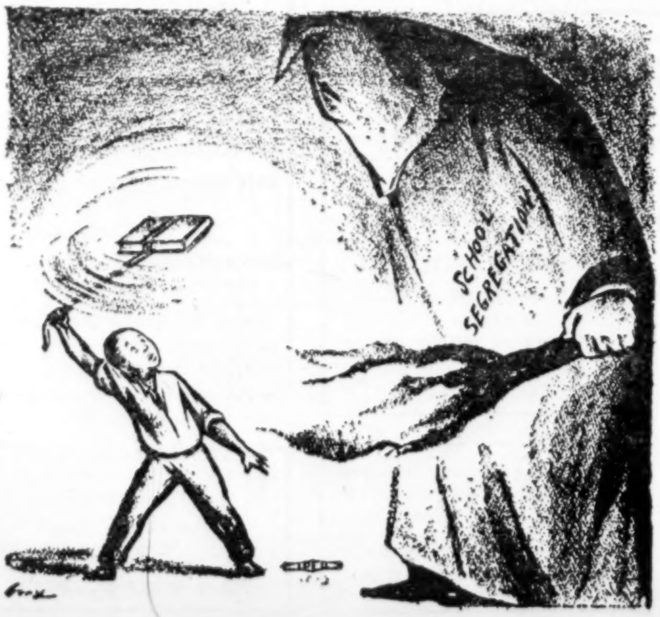
Laura Slobe, 'Militant' cartoonist, dies

LAURA SLOBE, WHOSE CARTOONS appeared in **The Militant**, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, under the signature "Gray," died at St. Luke's Hospital in New York on Jan. 12, after a sudden attack of acute pneumonia. She was 48 years old. A memorial meeting was held in her memory by the Socialist Workers Party on Jan. 16. Miss Slobe had been a member of the SWP since 1942 and staff cartoonist for **The Militant** since 1944.

She was a painter and sculptor before she became a political cartoonist. Miss Slobe's works as a sculptor were widely esteemed in the art world. Her works won numerous awards in exhibits at the Chicago Art Institute and in other showings. She entered the Chicago Art Institute at the age of 16, the youngest student in its history. She later taught at the Institute and at other art schools.

A statement about Miss Slobe by Daniel Roberts, editor of **The Militant**, said: "Laura's death is a terrible shock and a grievous loss. We loved her as a gentle and devoted comrade and as a passionate and fearlessly honest artist . . . Her cartoons, which were reproduced in labor and socialist publications in more than 20 countries, were a weekly source of inspiration.

"Her cartoons portrayed the power lodged in the working class, the heroism of the Negro people and the valiant struggles of the colonial people in their battles against imperialism."



DAVID AND GOLIATH

Drawing by Gray in the MILITANT

'FROM A WRITER'S NOTEBOOK'

A philosopher looks at American culture

HONORÉ DAUMIER once said: "One must be of one's time." His contemporary and fellow-artist Ingres answered: "But suppose my time is wrong?"

To be part of one's age and yet hold it in perspective, to see its historical failings and triumphs with sympathy and yet analytically, is the job of the critics. Van Wyck Brooks, historian and philosopher, performs the critical surgery with wit and learning in his notes* on our times, our country, our customs and ourselves.

Even the form and style of these notebooks seem a rebuke to the brittle sock-bam-and-pow mannerism of current literature. He favors archaic forms such as epigrams which have not been in style for decades. His longest pieces are three-or-four paragraph essays which are disarmingly direct. Though critical of modern intellectuals he shows no shame in being one himself. But his most shocking eccentricity is that he is unblushingly sentimental, a believer in character, virtue, the amenities of human relationships, and optimism.

HE DISLIKES FREUD, the "tough" writers, conformity and the mean preoccupation with security he finds in the young. He understands all of it but hopes for a better time with the passing of this period "of low vitality."

He deplores the terrible stigma attached to the phrase "sweetness and light" which, he reminds his readers, was coined by Swift "who was anything but a fatuous man." The phrase, says Brooks, has now "become a byword and a hissing as if bitterness and darkness were better than sweetness and light, and beside the granitic self-protective disillusionment of our time these words are as ineffectual as spray against a sea-wall." He does not expect to see the phrase respected again so long as un-sweet Breughels and Picassos hang in modern homes and Hemingway sells well.

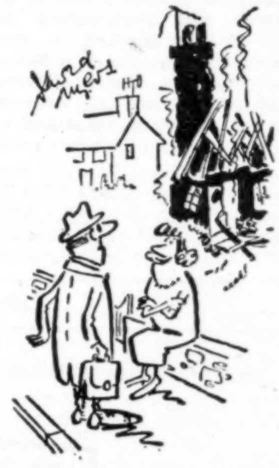
He understands the current reaction to the prudery of his own generation but wonders how long our "monotonous adolescence" with its persistent drum-beat emphasis on sex can continue to have a function. He is saddened and bored by the "witless grin" in photographs of public persons, the literary "dull concentration on the mean." As examples he cites a recent literary description of a sunset at sea which "looks like a big red behind being lowered into a bathtub," or James Joyce's phrase, "the snot-green sea."

THE EPIGRAM with which the little notebook begins has the mark of a New England intellectual aristocrat about it. "It is only the instructed soul who represents the present. The crowd is the soul of the future in the body of the past." Van Wyck Brooks is clearly one of the "instructed souls" representing the present ably in the long view of history.

His feelings for the crowd, though he longs for the buoyancy of a Whitmanesque democracy, are mixed. He concedes the future to it but deplores the flat, standardized, conforming crowd. He prefers even the lower depths to the dead center which characterizes much of America.

He writes: "In order to sink, as well as to rise, a well-organized person has to work, for he has to violate all manner of instincts which it is easier to satisfy. The line of least resistance is to float on a dead level."

STILL, BROOKS DETECTS hopeful symptoms of the still-breathing "American genius" which "seems to possees a strong bent for admiring simple people and seeing in them what Emerson called 'gods in low disguises'—for seeing the potential, in short, in the natural germ, and I would say that if anything indicates the profound uniqueness of American life it is this obvious tendency of the American unconscious." For that reason, he says, the hopes of Big Business to be portrayed in American literature as a source of greatness is doomed to disappointment.



London Daily Mirror

"Don't look so worried, George—Mrs. Brown says we can watch HER TV tonight."

He writes: "When, with its advertising interests, it largely controls the radio and the press, imposing conformity of opinion, opposing free speech, how can one expect the unconscious of writers to produce lively images of the business man as hero?"

The notes of Van Wyck Brooks are, like himself, wide-ranging, warm, witty and—to use a favorite word of his—instructed. One note says: "Epigrams are truly like coins. There are very few whose image and superscription are not obliterated if we carry them long enough in our mental pockets." Many of Van Wyck Brooks' epigrams are of a currency that gathers interest at a handsome rate.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**FROM A WRITER'S NOTEBOOK, by Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Co., 300 Fourth Av., N.Y. 10. 182 pp. $3.*

'I did it—with my little axe', said George

THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY—recently streamlined for efficiency—was caught with its aliases down last week over a press release on Indonesia. Having obtained a copy of a pamphlet allegedly relating the history of the Indonesian CP, the USIA went to town with scare stories of a "Communist plan for taking over Indonesia." It compared current Indonesian government action in nationalizing Dutch enterprises with "the operations carried out in Eastern Europe during the Communist seizure of power in 1946-48."

Indonesian officials in Washington protested that this implied the Jakarta government's moves were "Communist-inspired." U.S. State Dept. officials privately admitted "some confusion" over the USIA press release. The N.Y. **Times** said (1/4): "The confusion was compounded by the fact that the information agency released only a three-page summary to the American press but broadcast abroad a lengthy commentary attributed to a fictitious 'George Benson.' Indonesian officials said they had learned this was one of the various pseudonyms used by the agency in its foreign service.

"Asked why the agency used pseudonyms, a government spokesman said it was in order to have the commentaries credited to a 'good American-sounding name'."

Economic report

(Continued from Page 1)

the giants bucked the downtrend, but the Bell system and Standard Oil have both announced 10% cuts in capital spending for 1958.

- Autos and housing came to the rescue in 1954. Today auto sales are running far below 1957, and housing has not yet gotten off base, despite a series of government stimulants since March, 1957.

- World recovery and boom helped pull the U.S. out of 1949 and 1954. This time the other capitalist countries turned downward with the U.S., and the National Foreign Trade Council has forecast a further export drop for 1958.

WHITE HOUSE APPRAISAL: The Economic Report fails to grapple with most of these facts and ignores the others. It minimizes the fall-off to date, and prophesies a quick recovery. The only justification for this is a paragraph of speculation, climaxed by this: "And the rate of inventory reduction **may not be substantially greater than** it has been so far, **if** the balance between government expenditures and business capital outlay is favorable and **if** personal incomes and consumption expenditures are well maintained, **as seems likely.**" (Emphasis added). As a footnote to this, the Michigan Survey Research Center has just reported that consumers intend to buy far fewer autos and homes than in any of the past three years.

Most of the Report's confidence is based on what it calls "The Longer Perspective" of growth. Our domestic market has doubled every quarter of a century, and "there is every reason" to believe this will happen again. The two leading reasons:

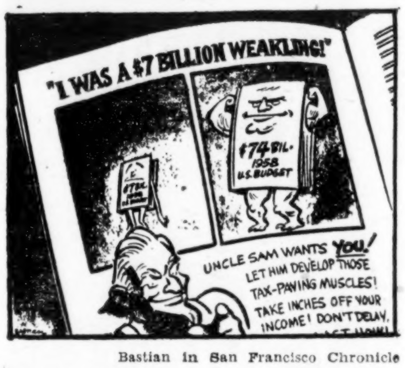
- Population is growing, and per capita consumption rose by 50% in the last two decades. The facts: between 1929 and 1939 per capita consumption **fell** 2%. Between 1939 and 1946 it rose 43%, between 1946 and 1957 it rose 10%. It was the favorable circumstances of the U.S. in World War II that accounted for almost all of the 50% gain.

- Rising needs of the population call for enlarged government spending for schools, natural resource development, etc. This call comes just one week after the President in his Budget message slashed Federal spending for just such purposes!

ANTI-LABOR, ANTI-FARMER: The only "unfavorable" feature in the recent development of the U.S. economy, as seen by the Eisenhower economists, is "excessive" price and wage increases. The emphasis is on the latter, defined as wage rises exceeding productivity gains. The facts are exactly opposite.

Productivity per man-hour in the private economy, according to the Report, increased 41% over the past ten years. But between 1946 and 1957 real disposable income per capita increased only 8%. Adjustments would be needed for exact comparison, but the facts would not change. Incomes of farmers and workers have lagged badly behind productivity. Inflation has all been on the side of the military and monopoly profits.

The contradiction arises not from excessive wages, but from the enormous boosts in productivity, profits, investment and capacity, all in contrast to the comparative stagnation of the public's purchasing power as indicated above. The "excessive wage" argument is used to justify legislation recommended in the Report—and since submitted to Congress—establishing controls over union finances and other restrictions. As for prices, the only recommendation is to cut supports for farmers—whose prices received have failed to keep pace with costs—to 60% of parity.


"I WAS A $7 BILLION WEAKLING!"
$74 BIL. 1958 U.S. BUDGET
UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU! LET HIM DEVELOP THOSE TAX-PAYING MUSCLES! TAKE INCHES OFF YOUR INCOME! DON'T DELAY,

Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM: The Report refers often to the one concrete government action significantly stimulating the economy—increased military spending. It notes that new contracts are being accelerated more than dollar outlays: "At the turn of the year, the economy was already beginning to feel the effects of an acceleration of the placement of defense contract awards." In the month around the turn of the year, unemployment rose a million.

Actually, a sufficient upswing in military buying would turn the economy upward again—at great cost to economic welfare and with a frightening risk of war. But the military splurge now in the offing, while significant and dangerous, is not enough to turn the economy around.

The publicized intention is to increase placement of military orders from $7,000,000,000 in the second half of 1957 to $13,000,000,000 in the first half of 1958, or by $1,000,000,000 a month. But new orders for durable goods have already fallen by $2,000,000,000 a month since early 1957. The Administration plan will merely slow the decline or, at best, halt it. Its full effect will be spent by midyear, when military orders are scheduled to recede to a "normal" level of $10,000,000,000 in the second half.

TRIVIA: The Administration legislative program outlined at the end of the Report is a collection of trivialities, mostly repeated from earlier reports. And there are glaring omissions. One, mentioned in the Budget story in the GUARDIAN (1/27), is the deletion of the 1957 federal aid to education scheme. Another is the failure to discuss the only possibility for effective action to reverse the export decline—the opening up of East-West trade to American concerns. Instead the Report calls for extension of the Export Control Act under which that trade is prevented.

The present drop looks more and more like a major cyclical movement. The economic decay of world capitalism, partly hidden for almost 20 years by the side-effects of its military-political crisis, threatens to burst forth again.

The owners and rulers of America will attempt to salvage the situation for themselves through methods going far beyond the Economic Report and more harmful to the public. The people can obtain relief only through their own joint action, as during the 1930's.

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NEW YORK

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SCIENCE AND MODERN LIFE* Irving Adler, Dr. Chandler Davis, Dr. Vernon King
WEDNESDAYS (beginning Feb. 12) 8:30-10 P.M.

THE CONTEMPORARY NOVEL—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
THURSDAYS (beginning Feb. 13) 6:45-8:15 P.M.

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THURSDAY (beginning Feb. 13) 8:30-10 P.M.

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PALO ALTO: Wed., Feb. 12
PETALUMA: Thurs., Feb. 13
SAN FRANCISCO: Fri., Feb. 14
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Report on U.A.W. Convention
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1160 E. 54 St. Don. 50c.
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Los Angeles

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San Francisco

HOLD THE DATE—Moscow Youth Festival film—only copy in America—and report by Chicago youth delegate, LeRoy Wolins. SUN., FEB. 9, 8 P.M., 150 Golden Gate Av. Tickets 50c. at American-Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

Philadelphia

CARL MARZANI: "Economics of Growth." Teachers Union Forum, Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m., at John Bartram Hotel. Contribution $1.50 Legal Fund.

Newark, N. J.

Attention — New Jersey Youth: **Tim Wohlforth**, editor "Young Socialist," will speak on "Towards a United Socialist Youth Movement,' Sat., Feb. 8—8 p.m. Masonic Auditorium, 188 Belmont Av. Questions and disc. period. Adm. free.

New York

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The New World of Socialism —DuBois, Allen and others

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Tuesdays
(Jan. 21 thru Feb. 25)
6:30—Struggle for Negro Freedom —Aptheker
8:30—New Problems in Marxism —Aptheker

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Wednesdays
(Jan. 22 thru Feb. 26)
6:30—Economics of Capitalism—Weise
8:30—Boom and Bust in U.S.—Weise

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Thursdays
(Jan. 23 thru Feb. 27)
6:30—Dialectical Materialism —Wells
8:30—Pavlow and Freud —Wells

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Fridays
(every week; admission $1)
8:15—Review of the Week —Collins and others

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Saturdays
(Jan. 25 thru March 1)
11 A.M.—New World A-Comin!—Collins (class for teenagers)

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8:15—Sunday Evening Forums —Guest speakers (Ch. Collins)

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A REPORT IN WORDS & MOTION PICTURES from a group of delegates to the Youth Festival in Soviet Union. Also report on their visit to China. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m., Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Bklyn.

DR. OTTO NATHAN, economist, teacher, author, lecturer, speaks on **"WAR & PEACE IN THE ATOMIC AGE,"** Fri., Feb. 7, 9 p.m., at Pilgrim Hall, 1800 Grand Concourse. Sponsor: Brotherhood Benevolent Society. Admission 50c.

GARMENT CENTER OPEN FORUM
In Celebration of Negro History Week. Lecture by **DR. HERBERT APTHEKER**, noted writer on Negro History. **WED., FEB. 12** (Lincoln's Birthday), 6:30 p.m., at Fraternal Club House, 110 W. 48 St. Don. 49c at door. Auspices: Garment Freedom of Press Committee.

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Monday Feb. 3, 8:30 p.m.
"CHINA—FROM LIBERATION TO SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION"
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REVIEW OF THE WEEK
A Marxist Review of Current Events
Fri., Jan. 31 8:15 p.m.
"The Reuther Plan for 1958"
Speaker: **HENRY KLEIN**
- Profit-Sharing or Wage Struggles?
- What & Where is Labor Statesmanship?

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Fri., Feb. 7. 8:15 p.m.
Speaker: **HAROLD COLLINS**
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SUNDAY EVENING FORUM
Sun., Feb. 2, 8:15 p.m.
"Limited Nuclear Warfare" —Path to Destruction
HAROLD COLLINS
- The Rockefeller Report
- The Kissinger Thesis

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Sun., Feb. 9, 8:15 p.m.
"Negro History—The Long Path to Full Freedom"
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
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This Week's Activities of the
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
Fri. Jan. 31—Film "A Nous La Liberte" at Central Plaza Annex (7 St. & 2nd Av.) 2 showings—8:15 and 10:15 p.m. Cont. $1.

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Fri., Feb. 7—Symposium and Discussion on "Socialism and Ethics.
Dick De Haan—doctoral candidate in Philosophy, New School of Social Science.
Tony Ramirez—member Youth Fellowship of Reconciliation
Paul Greenberg—Forum Chairman; East Side "National Guardian" Club
Bert Deck—Editorial Board member "Young Socialist" newspaper.
(organizations listed for identification only)
Adelphi Hall 74 5 Av. 8 p.m.
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DR. OTTO NATHAN
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The Economic Causes of War in History; The antagonisms between capitalism and socialism as a new factor creating war tendencies; the qualitative changes in the Nature of the Weapons of War; Possible alternatives for Avoiding War.
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Publications

JUST OUT!
Feb. issue "JEWISH CURRENTS"
Features: Victor Rabinowitz on **Felix Frankfurter**: H. Smoliar on How Polish Jews Fight Anti-Semitism; H. Aptheker on 10 Best Books on Amer. Negroes; M. U. Schappes on Issues & Events. Single copy, 35c; sub. $3 yr., USA, $3.60 elsewhere. 22 E. 17 St. (Room 601) New York 3, N.Y.

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Pictorial History of the Negro in America (Langston Hughes) $5.95. Black Reconstruction (W.E.B. DuBois) $4. Send check to: Negro Book Society, 459 W. 144 St., New York 31, N.Y.

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THE GALLERY

DO YOU REMEMBER THE CASE of Nina Ponomaryeva? She was the Russian discus thrower who went to England a couple of years ago with her team to compete with the British and was arrested as a shop-lifter for taking some hats in a London store. The Russians proclaimed her innocence and demanded that charges be dropped. But the press in England and here whooped it up. After several acrimonious exchanges between the Russian and British team representatives the meet was canceled. An English court declared Miss Ponomaryeva guilty.

A postscript to the story has just been added by Ernest Riley who recently retired as promotion manager for **News of the World**, London. He says: "I am convinced that Nina Ponomaryeva never had any intention of stealing those five hats. Four companions for whom four of the five hats were intended had left her alone in the store, going on to stores down the street. She understood no English. She had money that she could not take out of the country with her and she had made a few purchases in this particular store. I am convinced that she thought she had paid for the hats. Try it sometime in a foreign country, where you cannot understand a spoken word, and see how easy it is to become coufused." Now with that in the record, let's have more international competitions and keep out cold war politics.

NEW YORKERS WHO WANTED TO KEEP their only free Shakespearean theater got a new lift last week. The music-writing team of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II said they would match every $100 contribution to the N.Y. Shakespeare Festival. The group, which has won critical acclaim for its free performances in the parks during the summer and in the Heckscher Theater in winter, has been turned down by the City's Board of Estimate in an appeal for $40,000. Unless the money is privately financed, the Festival will close shop. Contributions may be sent to Festival, 1230 Fifth Av., New York City.

The present production, **As You Like It**, scheduled to close for lack of funds on Jan. 25, will continue. It is a high-spirited production with a cast of excellent players who obviously regard the Bard as a contemporary. For tickets, write to the Festival at the address above.

LONDON SOCIETY COLUMNS report that the Duke and Duchess of Windsor have become very chummy with Sir Oswald and Lady Mosely. Sir Oswald once led a British fascist movement that fizzled. De Gaullists, too, are always popping in on the Moseleys in their luxurious home on the Paris outskirts. . . Elvis Presley has at last given up his teddy bears. The weaning came as his induction into the Army neared. His collection of teddy bears will be sold, with proceeds going to the March of Dimes.

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the SPECTATOR

'Let Robeson Go!'

SOME DAY AMERICANS in their majority may come to regard the State Department's eight-year refusal to issue Paul Robeson a passport as what it is—one of the more vengeful stupidities of the Cold War. But the nation has been slow to anger and to act on matters involving the constitutional rights of political dissidents and of Negroes. And Robeson is one of the world's most distinguished prototypes of both these categories.

It is heartening, therefore, that, while we Americans undergo a very slow burn, the British are at fever heat in a movement to end the cultural exile of this great international artist.

The unfading popularity of Robeson with British audiences was strikingly manifested Jan. 14 by offers to him to:

- Star in Britain's biggest TV show, "Sunday Night at the Palladium," on April 6.
- Appear in concert that same afternoon in London's Royal Festival Hall.
- Appear on a special Robeson TV show on April 10.

ROBESON WITH "OTHELLO" BEARD

AN IMPRESSIVE HEADLINER fee was offered by impresario Val Parnell of Associated Television Ltd. for each appearance. Robeson accepted the offer by trans-Atlantic telephone and for the next few days the projected appearances were big news in the British press. The Daily **Herald** carried an eight-column headline: "I'm-a-Comin' Says Robeson." The subhead proclaimed: "And Paul's Head Will Not Be Bendin' Low Here in Britain." In **The People,** Sunday paper with the second largest circulation in Britain, columnist Hannen Swaffer wrote:

"He is one of the noblest man I have ever met. A man who will voluntarily give up wealth and fame to fight racial discrimination from which, although his father was born a slave, he himself had never suffered, is, to my mind, beyond criticism. **Who cares about his politics!**"

Robeson's London representative announced that, in addition to the TV appearances, a concert tour was being arranged to coincide with his 60th birthday on April 9. Robeson himself revealed that he has been invited by the director of the Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon to play the part of Gower in "Pericles" this summer. Rehearsals will begin in June; the play will open July 8 and run through November.

DURING 1957 a National Paul Robeson Committee conducted a widespread campaign for his right to visit Britain. Last May a meeting honoring him was held in St. Pancras Town Hall, London. Labour MP's and trade union leaders spoke and Robeson sang over the trans-Atlantic phone. In October he sang again over the phone to the Welsh miners Eisteddfod in Porthcawl. The miners sang back to him, "We'll keep a welcome in the hillsides."

The welcome was never more evident in Britain than now. "Barkus"—to be sure—"is willin'." But it is unlikely that Dulles has changed his mind about Robeson any more than he has adopted an up-to-date view about H-bomb control or summit talks for peace. The Supreme Court may settle the question any Monday now by ruling that a citizen may not be required to sign a political affidavit in order to travel abroad. Whether or not it does, we Americans would be anything but hasty if we were now to emulate our usually stolid British cousins and form a National Paul Robeson Committee on our own shores.

Its slogan might be: "Let Robeson Go! Keep Dulles Home!"

—Louis E. Burnham

DuBois 90th birthday celebration

NEW YORK GUARDIAN readers, here's an event you won't want to miss.

On Sunday afternoon, March 2, in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt, there will be a public "Deca-Centennial" reception in celebration of the 90th birthday of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. One of the founders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, author of many great works on the Negro in America and on African culture, Dr. DuBois is a frequent contributor to the GUARDIAN's columns.

Watch these columns for the names of those who will take part in the celebration. Reservations are $3.50, from the DuBois XC, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 1, N.Y. For information call ORegon 3-3800.